/179 cont./

carried, but rather served them for acknowledgment by his contemporaries and attached them to his body. We find this all the more natural, since we know that with such parts, in his opinion, the characteristics of the game animal were acquired. Thus he wore claws, teeth, and feathers as trophy and talisman. While he could tie most of these things on a string, he was in difficulty with a feather which he wanted to keep as a memento of a good shot. He pierced his ear lobe and stuck it in there, where it was secure and did not get in his way. The ancestors of all our tribes hit upon this. Some of them were soon not content with ear holes, but also pierced the nose and lips. For the idea of the trophy, at first applied only to the laborious attainment, was extended to a wearing not connected with much pain or labor. A new result, worthy of admiration, was produced, and a young man undoubtedly felt "better tattooed," in the fullest sense of the expression, if he displayed his treasure in a hole in his nose, lip, or ears, than if he wore it around his neck on a string. Once the wearing of the trophy became habitual, it was inevitable that attention was turned to its external qualities as well, the previously secondary characteristics of color and form. Even objects that had merely been used to keep the holes open and prevent them from healing shut became ornaments and decorations. More or less vaguely felt perceptions of pleasing color contrasts were associated with ideas about the difficult, the unusual, the power-endowed.

The artificial injury, however, became an end in itself through the circumstance that it furnished a permanent distinguishing mark and thus shaped various forms of the custom. It was not only excellently suited for distinguishing brave and ruling persons within a tribe, who were usually also the most vain, but it often formed the consciously worn symbol of nationality from tribe to tribe. It provided the means for giving even children lasting marks. The Indians have always passionately engaged in kidnapping among foreign tribes in order to rear warriors and women. Hence children were marked so that they could be recognized, as the herd-owner stamps his livestock. When we were with the Bororó, an old woman swore by all that was holy that our Antonio,

2. Steinen--410 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SPT Bacsan SP7

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> smoke and flare up more or less quickly when one blows on them. Leaves burning with an aromatic or stupefying smoke would strike the sensitive nose of the Indian while he was blowing on them and would be found useful by him for his medicinal sorcerer's function. He inhaled the smoke and swallowed it (hence always the expression "drink" among the discoverers of America).

there are two kinds of "tobacco", the tobacco which one smokes for pleasure is different from the kind that cures and is much weaker. In the cures which I saw the ordinary tobacco was used; probably there are other leaves that have a stronger narcotic effect. The Schingel cigarette in its green aromatic leaf-wrapping is probably one of the simplest forms of regular smoking enjoyment. Tobacco smoke cures everything. I saw infected eyes, inflammation of the hip joint, burns, abdominal pains, and other such things treated with it. The Suyá blew it into my ears and talked into them loudly, so that I would understand their language better. Perhaps if a patient is blown upon for a long time with a thick cloud of smoke a slight drowsiness is aimed at, but in each case the patient, already suffering, must lapse into a dull state as a result of the untiring, monotonous moaning and kneading, in which he may experience transformations just as well as the medicine man. I did not obtain any accounts or examples of this, however.

In the following chapter I must discuss a simpler method of blowing, by means of which the sorcerer transforms, not himself, but others, and which occurs without tobacco smoke.

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The medicine man or anyone else blows in a different way when he drives away a thunderstorm by blowing. Saliva is puffed out through a spray funnel against the clouds; I myself saw the remedy work several times and was then sorry that in my overly great caution, in spite of the urgent requests of the Indians, I had not puffed along with them. I lacked the power of imagination.

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539 in quiet areas, where there are no human beings, it is always
125 on the move in the morning and afternoon, except during the hot hours in the middle of the day which it spends sleeping"; in other words, all of the phrases between quotation marks, taken from the book by Dr. Gould on the mammals of our land (pp. 92, 99, 103, and 108), confirm what has been said concerning the shadowy character of the Yamîxa.

539 /258/ Other considerations, however, seem to us of
178 greater moment.

First of all, in the enumeration of the belongings of the Yamîxa, we have a basis for a list of the cultural acquisitions of the Socoris. We learn that they had nets for fishing before [229] they had nets /hammocks/ for sleeping, that they traveled by [352] water when they did not yet have pestles, and that they proba- [501] bly had maracá before they had the masks with which they [42] appear at their festivals. [538]

539 We also see that although theoretically the abode of the
776 Yamîxa is in the sky, a large part of his existence is spent on the earth from which he derives his sustainance. Subsistence, however, is not his sole concern; free of the contingencies of time and space, he travels swiftly as the wind, he is an envious being who spies upon all actions and weighs upon the living with crushing pressure. There is hardly an act that he does not influence: gestation, childbirth, alimentation, festivals, walking hours, everything falls within his incurable reach, as we shall see later. It would seem that the Socoris could paint their bodies as they please. But this is not so.

776 Yamîxa does not like urucú,--this is why one must not
• 789 scatter the urucú seed, says the piahi;--Yamîxa goes into the
124 houses of people with children,--this is why we burn the juice
302 of the rubber tree--when it is burned it is rubbed on the door;--fathers of boys, when they go to the river, paint themselves with genipap,--paint themselves with urucú,--so Yamîxa thinks that it is blood; if the boy's father does not paint himself

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776 and goes to the river, Yamîca throws himself in the water;--
789 he likes guaranâ /Calophyllum brasiliense/ resin;--burned
824 cotton seed makes Yamîca run far /away/ away; Yamîca is very
302 fond of colored clay and beans;--he does not like copaiba resin;--when jatahé is burned Yamîca does not like it, says the piaîs.

796 Finally, since there are certain animals which for him are
825 a means of subsistence, his forerunners /men too!/, if it is permissible to say this in connection with peoples who have not reached the metal stage, it is natural that Yamîca should protect them with the same care and vigor with which a Bacairi would protect his canoe or his bow. There are animals whose
[764] injury is punished immediately: for example, the bacuri, as one of the passages cited above, or the Tapsîtu, a little bird that will be dealt with more conveniently later on. There are only tahî or tapî, an expression used in Australia, and which, being widely known, demands no explanation. It is possible to come to terms with regard to the others, and this is done in a most reasonable way, by giving to the Yamîca in prepared form the food that he would have to prepare in the campo. It is mandatory, however, that the dead animal be put to good
[782] use; otherwise antas, pecas, and pigs will attack clearings,
[796] destroying them; and to propitiate the Yamîca it is necessary
[532] to give a feast, naturally masked, which they attend incognito. After eating well, they regard themselves as satisfied and the scourge ceases.

825 The following passage expresses more clearly the idea of
796 payment, and, although it is somewhat repetitious, it is not
782 redundant.
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If the Guariba /howler monkey/ (Mycetes) is killed, it must be paid for, say the piaîs; if the macaco Coatá /spider monkey/ (Ateles) is killed, if the Preguiça /three-toed sloth/

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794 survives death. (+) During sleep, kagempuri leaves the body

6. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 43, 44.

and goes wandering through distant regions; on returning it causes the individual to awaken. To awaken a person suddenly might kill him, for kagempuri would not have time to return to the body. After death the fluid soul leaves the body once and for all and changes into kadopa. The kadopa are wandering souls that continue in this way until their final transformation into iamikra which occurred in the domain of Naiowri, the culture hero. Naiowri was a combination culture hero and creator god of the Bakairí. In a /263/ text obtained by Capistrano de Abreu, Naiowri first makes all the animals, and, using a plaster of clay, creates the Bakairí. (+) Next he

7. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 47.

776 775 makes a cotton ladder and climbs to the sky.

776 The kadopa and iamikra suffer hunger and thirst and eat like the other Indians. For this they use the bodies of animals.

775 When the kadopa disturbed the aldeas, rituals were performed to try to attract the wandering souls in order next to frighten them. One Bakairí account refers to the kadopa thus:

775 784 539 "... if you do not intone kadopa's song he does not go to the sky. Because of this /after/ many days of sleeping put manioc paste /mingáu/ in two small clay cups /cúias/; put the paste in the middle of the grave; two persons armed with clubs intone the song; the cups are smashed and they flee. Coming from afar, one gives a blessing, saying ku ku ku (now, cheer up!).

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When finished, one gives a benediction... saying: Aufa! Go inside the sky, to our people, to our mother, to our father, here there is no one, inside the sky it is good, go, we also are going to pass away, it is said, the pishi reaches." (8)

8. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 44.

796 (915) In Nakoeri's shins, the kadoya change into iamiku. But the iamiku also wander on the earth using the bodies of animals. Although their behavior was not intentionally malignant, the Bakairí had to take precautions when they went hunting or fishing or when they planned. On killing game or fish, the Indians left certain offerings for the iamiku portrayed by these animals. (9)

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9. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 49.

796 156 By means of certain rituals a Bakairí might, while still alive, make contact with the iamiku, acquiring the corresponding powers, and became a sorcerer-doctor.

796 Capistrano de Abreu (10) and Karl von den Steinen (11)

10. Capistrano de Abreu, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 235, 239, 240.

[113] 11. Karl von den Steinen, Entre os aborígenes do Brasil Central /Among the Aborigines of Central Brazil/, São Paulo, 1940, transl., p. 448.

mention yet other supernatural beings that surrounded the

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539 fat in order to stay warm. The Indians wanted the sun to come out, and so they donned their apparel, painted their bodies, and began to ask Orimoro, the great spirit. Orimoro was not an Indian but a man who lived in a stone house with some animals which he had created. The Indians went on asking until finally the light broke out; but the Indians had already grown old and the children had already grown up.

996 The data at our disposal do not permit us to place in Bakairí cosmology beings such as Tchini-ouma, Keri-kamé, or Orimoro and Nakoeri. Nevertheless, we prefer to regard Nakoeri as the supreme being of the Bakairí, leaving to Tchini-ouma, Keri-kamé (the sun and the moon), and Orimoro the role of culture heroes, until new work clarifies their respective functions.

182 13 433 Compelled to deal with a hostile environment, such as the savannas and forests of the headwaters of the Xingu, and lacking an adequate technology, the Bakairí, like the other Xinguano Indians, depended to a large extent on uncertain factors such as the amount of rainfall and the resulting annual increase of waters, which led to a scarcity or an abundance of food. Lacking an adequate technology, they did not store their produce but lived on a subsistence economy. Their hunting and fishing activities were followed by magic rituals with which they attempted to control the possibility of sudden future calamities or even of illnesses. Thus agricultural activities and the building of houses or canoes had to be followed by propitiations. In order to utilize the vegetal or animal raw materials, it was necessary to know how to control uncertain elements: How explain, for example, why one canoe splits and another does not, when both were made by the same craftsman? How explain how the same /210/ foods sometimes appeared harmless and sometimes made people ill? The system of beliefs of the Bakairí seems to us an interpretation that

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